The Question of Anglican Ordinations

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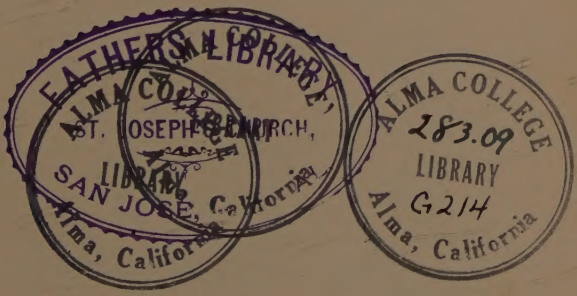

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The Question of Anglican Ordinations.

PON the question of the validity or invalidity of Anglican Orders a great many books have been written and much discussion has been held. When, as the outcome of the investigation in Rome, Pope Leo XIII., on September 13, 1896, declared that the Church must hold them to be invalid, many protests were uttered by English churchmen against this decision. The cry went forth that the Pope had outraged every good feeling by denying to others what he claimed for himself—Apostolic Succession. And from time to time since, this complaint of wounded sensibilities has been uttered by many. In the debate in the English House of Lords upon the Royal Declaration, which is admittedly offensive to Catholics, the Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Browne, defended the retention of

the blasphemies of the King's oath on the ground that the Pope had declared the Orders of the English Church null and void.

With all due allowance for the feelings of those among the clergy who hold advanced doctrines and regard themselves as being "sacrificing priests" quite as really as ourselves, it is somewhat hard to see what ground of complaint any one of them has with the Papal decision. In the first place, the whole matter was essentially a domestic question. The question was this: Was the Catholic Church to regard the English bishops and clergy of the Established Church as bishops and priests in the same way and in the same sense as those who have been ordained according to the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the Catholic Pontifical? Surely the living authority of the Roman Church had a right—and, when the question had been formally raised, a duty—to determine the answer, without being considered either offensive or aggressive. Personally, I should not feel in any way

aggrieved were I to be told that the united bench of Anglican bishops did not consider my Orders the same as theirs. I think they would be right in their decision; and, if they liked, quite right to give it. Their forefathers, the early English Reformers, made no secret about their sentiments in regard to the Orders of those they designated "Papists." They wished the world to know that their reformed ministry was wholly different from the "greasy orders" of Popish priests. And the world then had no doubt about the matter; neither has it, I think, now.

My purpose in this paper is to try to put before my readers the historical groundwork of the decision given by the Pope in the bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*. Leo XIII. points out that it is of the greatest importance to determine what had been the constant attitude of the Roman authorities in regard to the Orders conferred by the Anglican Ordinal. This is obviously the case, because if it were possible to discover how the Popes treated them at the time when all the

circumstances were well known, we should have a very strong judgment as to their validity or invalidity. With the help of certain documents which I was fortunate enough to discover in the Archives of the Vatican, we are in a position to know exactly how these Orders conferred by the newly-drawn-up Ordinal were regarded.

In August, 1553—that is, hardly more than a year from the death of Edward VI.,—Julius III. appointed Cardinal Pole to be his legate *a latere* for the reconciliation of England with the Church. He sent him, he says, 'as his angel of peace and love'; and it is only reasonable to suppose that everything possible to smooth over difficulties in the way of the desired reconciliation would be done both by the Pope and the Legate.

One grave and obvious difficulty in regard to the clergy must have at once presented itself. The nation could have been absolved and received into the unity of the Church easily enough; it was possible to arrange the difficulties which came from the holding of Church

property which in the troubles of the two previous reigns had found its way into lay hands; the Book of Common Prayer, which had been made compulsory under Edward, had already been relegated into obscurity, and the Catholic missal was back in its old place in the churches. But it was obvious that under the Edwardine Ordinal, during the few years of its use, there had come into existence a body of bishops and priests whose status it was absolutely necessary to consider and determine. Thus at once, in regard to Cardinal Pole's legation, the distinct question of the validity of Anglican Orders was raised, and, in so far as was necessary, determined by the powers and faculties given to the Legate.

Pope Leo XIII. puts this quite clearly when he says: "To interpret rightly the force of these documents, it is necessary to lay it down as a fundamental principle that they were certainly not intended to deal with an abstract state of things, but with a specific and concrete issue.

For, since the faculties given by these Pontiffs to the Apostolic Legate had reference to England only, and to the state of religion therein, and since the rules of action were laid down by them at the request of the said Legate, they could not have been mere directions for determining the necessary conditions for the validity of ordinations in general. They must pertain directly to providing for Holy Orders in the said Kingdom as the recognized condition of the circumstances and times demanded. This, besides being clear from the nature and form of the said documents, is also obvious from the fact that it would have been altogether irrelevant thus to instruct the Legate—one whose learning had been conspicuous in the Council of Trent—as to the conditions necessary for the bestowal of the Sacrament of Orders."

It is here useful to recall the fact that there were at the time in England two classes of clergy with whom the Legate had to deal: those who had been ordained before the publication of the

Ordinal in 1550, and those who had received their Orders during the two and a half years that the new Ordinal had been in use before Mary's accession. In the faculties granted to Pole by Pope Julius III., we find these two classes clearly distinguished as (1) those who had been "rightly and legitimately promoted and ordained before their lapse into heresy," and (2) those who had received benefices, and so forth, although "not promoted to all, even to the sacred Orders and the priesthood." This distinction was commonly made and understood at that time in England; for Queen Mary, in a decree dealing with the state of things she found on coming to power, says that "the Diocesan, in the case of those who had been promoted to any Orders according to the method of ordaining lately made, seeing that they were not truly and really ordained, can supply what was previously wanting to such men, if he find them to be (otherwise) fit and proper people."

The faculties given by the Bull of August 5, 1553, were amplified and

extended in a Bull dated March 8, 1554, which included the former Bull and a Brief of the same date. In this the Legate is given faculties to deal with all cases of men who have not received, or who have badly received, their Orders, and so forth, and with those whose ordination was null. "That the mind of the Pope," says the Papal bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, "was this, and nothing else, is clearly confirmed by the letter of the said Legate (January 29, 1553) sub-delegating his faculties to the Bishop of Norwich." In this letter we find mention (1) of those "who have received their Orders from heretic and schismatic bishops, even though not licitly, provided that in bestowing them the form and intention of the Church was kept"; and (2) of those "who were not promoted to all the sacred Orders and the priesthood." By this last expression "those only could be meant who had been consecrated according to the Edwardine rite, since, besides it and the Catholic form, there was then," says Leo XIII., "no other in England."

This much, then, would appear to be absolutely clear: that at the time of Queen Mary, immediately upon the death of Edward VI., both the Pope and the Legate contemplated dealing, and having to deal, with two classes of the clergy—those ordained according to the old Pontifical and those "promoted" by the new formulas of the Edwardine Ordinal.

Shortly after Cardinal Pole's arrival in England, in February, 1555, he considered that it would be best to send an embassy to Rome to obtain more explicit directions on many points, and to inform the Pope as to the true state of the case. The three ambassadors were sent by the King and Queen, and all three were called "most illustrious, and endowed with every virtue." One of this body, be it remarked, would have been peculiarly well able to let the Roman authorities know what had taken place under Edward VI., as he was Bishop Thirlby of Ely, who had taken a prominent part in the debate which preceded the introduction of the First Prayer Book of

1549. This embassy took with it a statement of what the Legate had up to that time been able to do to bring the country back to the unity of the Church.

The original document, in which this work was summarized for presentation at the Curia, was one of the papers I was able to unearth in the Vatican Archives when I was preparing, by the Pope's orders, for the work of the commission appointed to deal with the question. In this statement of what had been asked on behalf of the Cardinal, and what had been granted, one of the clauses relates to dispensations given to ecclesiastics for provisions to benefices and as regards Orders. These, we are told, were granted in the form asked for, with the proviso that on the return of those so dispensed to the unity of the Church, either the Legate or his deputy should make good (*restitutæ*) their Orders, and so forth. Further, in explanation of the situation, the ambassadors assured the Roman authorities that there was no thought of "any change or alteration in anything pertaining to

dogma or the worship of God"; which shows at least that Pole had no thought of making any concession as to the Ordinal.

In making their request for a Papal confirmation of Cardinal Pole's acts, the English envoys, as I also was able to find out, presented a document setting forth the substantive part of the Edwardine "form for making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons." Thus we now know that the actual question of the validity of the rite was raised formally at Rome as early as 1555; and the rite, or rather the substantive part, was presented for examination by Thirlby, who knew better than most men its history and the intention of its compilers.

A further document, found with other papers relating to this embassy, was "a summary of what the Holy See was requested to confirm" in this matter. The third item of this document requests confirmation of certain dispensations that clerics, and so forth, "may be promoted to the Orders and benefices

which they had received *invalidly* during the schism."

Before the arrival of the ambassadors, Pope Julius III. had died; but his successor, Paul IV., received them with great kindness, and gave immediate attention to the important business upon which they had come to ask for the decision of his authority. On the 20th of June, 1555, this Pontiff issued his bull *Præclara Charissimi*, a document of the first importance, which I discovered in the *Regesta* of the first year of the Pope. In this Paul IV. declares that the evidence had been "diligently discussed" by several Cardinals, and that, "after mature deliberation," he confirmed and approved generally what Pole had done, and in particular he allowed his dispensations in the case of those who, under the pretended authority of the English Church, had obtained Orders and benefices invalidly and *de facto*. Further, in the matter of such ordinations, the Pope declares that "those who have been promoted to ecclesiastical Orders by any one not a

bishop or archbishop validly and lawfully ordained, are bound to receive these orders again from their ordinary, and in the meanwhile must not minister in the said Orders." To enforce this ruling, Paul IV. twice in the Bull made use of the same form of words; which clearly declare that the Orders thus received are null and void.

"Who those bishops not 'valid and lawfully ordained' were," says Pope Leo XIII. in the *Apostolicæ Curæ*, "had been made sufficiently clear by the foregoing documents, and the faculties used in the said matter by the Legate,—those, namely, who have been promoted to the episcopate, as others to other Orders, '*not according to the accustomed form of the Church*"; or, as the Legate himself wrote to the Bishop of Norwich, '*the form and intention of the Church*' not having been observed. These were certainly those promoted according to the new form of rite, to the examination of which the cardinals specially deputed had given their careful attention. Neither should the passage, much

to the point, in the same Pontifical letter be overlooked, where, together with others needing dispensation, are enumerated those 'who had obtained as well Orders as benefices *nulliter et de facto*.' For to obtain orders *nulliter* means the same as obtaining them by an act null and void,—that is invalidly, as the very meaning of the word and as common parlance require."

When the existence of this Bull became known in Rome in the spring of 1895, it was at once suggested that, although drawn up and entered in the Papal Register, it evidently had never been dispatched, since a document of this importance would have been certainly found in some of the English archives. I was, however, able in a very short time to dispose of this suggestion. On my way back from Rome to England, I remained at Douai for a couple of days, to see whether by chance any notice of this important Bull existed in Cardinal Pole's Register, now in the town library there. I hardly hoped to find any such record. These volumes had been speci-

ally examined, for documents connected with Anglican Orders, by Canon Estcourt before writing his work on the subject, and it was scarcely likely that he could have overlooked so necessary a piece of evidence. But in this case I found that the unlikely had happened, and that a copy of this Bull *Præclara Charissimi* was entered in Pole's Register, together with his attestation of having received it.

In order to remove all doubt as to the exact meaning of his direction about the ordinations of the English clergy, Paul IV., on October 30, 1555, issued what is called a "Brief," or letter, declaratory of his decisions, published in the former Bull; and in particular of the position of those who "had received Orders and benefices *nulliter et de facto*," about which the Pope had directed that "those who have been promoted to ecclesiastical Orders by any one not a bishop or archbishop validly and lawfully ordained, are bound to receive these Orders again," and so forth. To make the sense absolutely clear, Paul

IV. now says: "We, wishing to remove all doubt, and opportunely to provide for the peace of conscience of those who during the schism were promoted to Orders, by expressing more clearly the mind and intention which we had in the aforesaid letters, declare that it is only those bishops and archbishops who are not ordained and consecrated in the form of the Church, who can not be said to have been validly and lawfully ordained. It is for this reason that persons promoted to Orders by such men have not received Orders, and are bound to receive such Orders again from their ordinaries."

This "Brief" is endorsed as applying "to some who have been ordained to sacred Orders in England"; and the docket — or note on the back — of the document draws a careful distinction between the two classes of clergy: namely, (1) those "whose Orders had been given by bishops not consecrated *in forma Ecclesiæ* — the form acknowledged by the Church, — and who could not be said to be rightly and truly

ordained"; and (2) those who had been ordained by bishops ordained and consecrated *in forma Ecclesiæ*, from whom, though heretics and schismatics in the reigns of Henry VIII, and Edward VI., they had received the character of the Orders bestowed on them. It is clear from this that the Edwardine Ordinal was the reason for this difference of treatment in the case of these two classes. In no other way can these letters have had the practical result they were intended to have—namely, "the removal of doubt and the restoration of peace of conscience."

That this was the sense in which the directions were understood does not admit of any doubt, in view of the actions of Pole and his suffragans in regard to clergy of both classes. In his instructions to the bishops, the Legate ordered them "to take special care to make all ecclesiastics show the *titles* of their Orders and benefices." In the commission also given by Gilbert Bourne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to his vicar-general, John Cottrell, dated April 8,

1554, the vicar is instructed to examine into the state of those clergy who have married, "and likewise of those married *laymen* who, under colour or pretext of *the order of priesthood*," have unlawfully administered parish churches and taken on them the cure of souls.

In the same way, in the juridical processes against those clergy who had taken to themselves wives, great care was taken to ascertain whether they were *de facto* priests or not. In the forty cases recorded in the Harley Manuscript 421, in the British Museum, it was always the practice, before proceeding to any sentence of deprivation, to inquire whether they *had been ordained more than eight years*,—that is, before the introduction of the new Ordinal of Edward VI. It may be useful to take some few instances of individual treatment, and first as regards the bishops. (1) Cranmer had received all his Orders, including the episcopate, according to the Catholic Pontifical; he is treated as a bishop and degraded as such. (2) Ridley in the same way is acknowledged

and degraded as a bishop. (3) Latimer likewise, and for similar reasons, was regarded as a bishop. (4) Bird, (5) Bush, (6) Barlow, and (7) Parfew were also all treated as bishops.

On the other hand, (1) Hooper was a priest according to the Catholic Pontifical, and was made bishop by the rite in the Edwardine Ordinal. He was not regarded as a bishop, and was degraded only as a priest, his episcopal character being ignored. (2) The same is true in the case of Farrar. (3) James Taylor, made bishop of Lincoln by the rite in the new Ordinal in 1552, is deprived "by reason of the nullity of his consecration." (4) The same may be said of Harley and (5) of Scory. The only other Edwardine reformers who had been consecrated bishops according to the Anglican Ordinal were Miles Coverdale and Poynet. These both fled out of England, and thus at this time their cases never came up for judgment.

The same absolute distinction is made in the treatment of priests and deacons ordained by the rites of the Pontifical

and the Ordinal. John Cardmaker, or Tayler, was acknowledged as a priest because he had received that Order as a Friar Minor, according to the ancient Pontifical. John Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's, was degraded as a priest. Thomas Attolle, previously a canon regular, was treated as a priest. Robert Samuel also, and a dozen others, were allowed to be priests, and treated as such, because ordained by the rite of the ancient Pontifical.

On the other hand, John Bradford was ordained on August 10, 1550, as it is expressly declared, "according to the manner, form and rite of this Church of England" by Bishop Ridley. He became a prebendary of St. Paul's on August 24, 1551; but, notwithstanding this, in the process against him he is styled *laicus* — layman, — and in the formal condemnation where the clerk had as usual written out the clause ordering his degradation "from every priestly order," this is struck out in the original as not applicable to his case. It is well to note that Bradford received

his diaconate *also* according to the new Ordinal, and thus in the Catholic sense had no Orders, and was, *in faciem Ecclesiæ*, merely a layman. Twelve other cases of clergymen claiming to have Orders according to the new rite, whose claims were ignored, could be adduced to confirm the practice. Moreover, some years ago it was pointed out by the Anglican Bishop of Stepney that a search in the Episcopal Registers had revealed fourteen cases (eight being in the diocese of London) in which clergy, who had certainly received Orders under the Edwardine Ordinal, had been ordained again, *de novo et integro*, during Mary's reign.

It is therefore evident, not only from the decisions of the Roman Pontiffs who were sufficiently informed as to the true state of the case by the English bishops, but also by the whole of the acts of Cardinal Pole done "according to the mind of the Pope" (*ad mentem Pontificis*), that the Orders conferred according to the Ordinal made in the time of Edward VI. were held to be *invalid;*

and they were adjudicated *invalid* on account of the insufficiency of the form itself. The practice of accounting all Anglican Orders invalid is consequently nothing new, but from the first it has been the invariable custom of the ecclesiastical authorities of the Catholic Church so to regard them. "This practice," says the bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*, "is fully proved by the numerous cases of absolute re-ordination according to the Catholic rite even in Rome itself." Moreover, on the occasions when the question was formally raised, and the Apostolic See was asked to give a distinct judgment in the matter, it invariably took the same view and pronounced for the invalidity of the Orders bestowed according to the English Ordinal.

It is unnecessary for me to discuss these decisions in detail, but it may be useful to remind my readers that these judgments were not founded upon any question of doubtful historical fact. Neither the doubtful consecration of Barlow, the consecrator of Arch-

bishop Parker in the reign of Elizabeth, nor the idle tale of that ceremony popularly known as the "Nag's Head Story," was a determining argument for the adverse decisions that have been given. Speaking of the case of Bishop Gordon in 1704, Pope Leo XIII. says: "Nor, in pronouncing the decision, was weight given to any other reason than the *defect of form and intention;* and in order that the judgment concerning this form might be more certain and complete, precaution was taken that a copy of the Anglican Ordinal should be submitted to examination, and that with it should be collated the ordination forms gathered together from the various Eastern and Western rites." The Pope adds: "It is important to bear in mind that this judgment was in no wise determined by the omission of the *tradition of instruments** (from the Anglican rite); for in

* *The tradition of instruments*—i. e., the handing of the chalice and paten by the Bishop to the candidate in the ordination of a priest, and of the Book of the Gospels in the ordination of a deacon.

such a case, according to the established custom, the direction would have been to repeat the ordination *conditionally*."

In regard to this "tradition of instruments," a word may be here interpolated. As all students know, it has been assumed and is very commonly asserted that, from the rise of scholasticism, and certainly from the time of the Council of Florence and the celebrated *Instructio ad Armenos* of Pope Eugenius IV, up to very recent times, no one in the Latin Church questioned the ordinary teaching of theologians that the essential matter of Orders was this "tradition of instruments." Further, it has been asserted very confidently that, in view of this official opinion of the authorities of the Latin Church, many questions as to the validity of the Sacrament of Orders were decided in the light of this assumed principle. Still further, it is said, in regard to the question of Anglican Orders in particular, that the Anglican Ordinal would of course at once have been condemned, by men who held firmly to its essential necessity, because it did

not contain *this* ceremony, of the *traditio instrumentorum*.

As a matter of fact, and indeed as Pope Leo XIII. points out, the condemnation of this Ordinal was not based upon any such point; and, as I showed some years ago in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1900), the Roman authorities were perfectly well aware of the very strong opinion which held that the tradition of instruments was not essential. All this comes out quite clearly in the acts of a commission appointed to deal with the Greek "Euchologium" in 1636, which are to be found in the Archives of Propaganda, and which prove that the Roman authorities were not quite so ignorant of the question as some people would like to think.

To return to our immediate subject. The groundwork of all previous decisions about the English Orders was exactly the same as of that pronounced by Leo XIII. on September 20, 1896,—namely, the invalidity of the rite itself, To understand what this means it is

necessary to know the history of this ritual and to examine into its composition.

The Anglican Ordinal was published by the authority of the Crown in 1550, as a complement to the Book of Common Prayer which had been issued the previous year. It was designed to do in regard to the Pontifical what this Prayer Book had done in respect to the Missal and the Catholic Liturgy generally. In this latter book, as we know, the Sacrifice of the Mass was rejected for a new ceremonial based upon the Lutheran liturgies of Germany. The very words of Consecration anciently used were made to give place to a new composition taken from the Order of church service drawn up for Nuremberg, of which church the uncle of Cranmer's wife was pastor. In the English communion service, every care was taken by Cranmer and the other compilers to make it absolutely clear that the sacrificial character of the old service had been changed into a memory of prayer and praise; and,

whilst in the general disposition of parts it retained some outward resemblance to the old service, all mention of oblation and sacrifice was carefully removed.

The Ordinal came into existence in 1550, after the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. had been for some short time in use. As all who know the history of that time will acknowledge, the sacramental views of Cranmer and the other Reformers had considerably changed in the "down-grade" direction toward the Calvinistic doctrine by the date of the publication of the Ordinal. This being so, there was no difficulty about attaching it to the Second Book of Common Prayer, which was frankly Helvetian or Calvinistic in doctrine, when it came to be published in 1552. It is consequently reasonable, and indeed necessary, to regard the Anglican Ordinal as giving a form of ordination to the ministry corresponding with the doctrinal teaching in regard to the Eucharist held by those that were its authors.

A critical examination of the ritual for the ordaining of deacons, priests, and bishops according to this new Ordinal, will show that in every particular the Catholic Pontifical was treated in the same systematic way as the Missal had been in the Prayer Book, to get rid of the notion of sacrifice and oblation. Thus just as the destruction of the material altars emphasized the fact that sacrificial doctrine was rejected, so the word "altar" is in all the new rites carefully excluded.

In the address of the bishop, in the Catholic ordination rite for a deacon, to those to be ordained it is said "a deacon must minister at the altar"; this is deleted in the new service. In the ordination of priests, the words of the bishop's address in the old Pontifical run thus: "To celebrate the Mass and consecrate the body and blood of Christ; . . . that they may know that in this Sacrament they receive the grace of consecrating, . . . and may acknowledge that they have received the power

of offering pleasing sacrifices, since to them pertains the office of consecrating the Sacrament of Our Lord's body and blood upon the altar of God. . . . In this appears the excellency of the priestly office, by which the passion of Christ is daily celebrated upon the altar." None of these expressions are to be found in the Edwardine rite. They are cut out; and, naturally, nothing like them has been inserted.

As regards the most important part of the rite, the *form* itself, this is what the *Apostolicæ Curæ* says concerning this part of the Edwardine Ordinal:

"In the examination of any rite for the effecting and administering of sacraments, distinction is rightly made between the part which is *ceremonial* and that which is *essential*, usually called the 'matter and form.' All know that the sacraments of the New Law, as sensible and efficient signs of invisible grace, ought both to signify the grace which they effect, and effect the grace they signify. Although the signification ought to be found in the whole essential

rite—that is to say, in the matter and form,—it still pertains chiefly to the form; since the matter is the part which it not determined by itself, but which is determined by the form. And this appears most clearly in the Sacrament of Orders, the matter of which, in so far as we have to consider it in this case, is the imposition of hands. This indeed by itself signifies nothing definite, and is equally used for several of the Orders and for Confirmation. But the words which until recently were commonly held by Anglicans to constitute the proper form of priestly ordination—namely, 'Receive the Holy Ghost,'—certainly do not in the least definitely express the sacred Order of priesthood, or its grace and power. . . .

"In vain has strength been recently sought for the plea of validity for the Orders, from the other prayers of the same Ordinal. For, to put aside other reasons which show them to be insufficient for the purpose in the Anglican rite, this one argument will apply to all: from them has been

deliberately removed whatever in the Catholic rite expresses the dignity and office of the priesthood. And consequently a form which omits what it ought essentially to signify can not be considered as apt and sufficient.

"The same holds good of episcopal consecration. For to the formula 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' not only were the words 'for the office and work of a bishop,' etc., added at a later period, but even these, as we shall presently state, must be understood in a sense different from that which they bear in the Catholic rite. Nor is anything gained by quoting the prayer of the Preface, 'Almighty God,' since in like manner it has been stripped of the words which denote the *summum sacerdotium* [high priesthood]. . . . So it comes to pass that, as the Sacrament of Orders and the true *sacerdotium* of Christ were utterly eliminated from the Anglican rite, and hence the *sacerdotium* is in no wise conferred truly and validly in the episcopal consecration of that same rite; for the like reason, therefore

the episcopate can in no wise be validly conferred by it; the more so because among the first duties of the episcopate is that of ordaining ministers for the Holy Eucharist and Sacrifice."

So far, then, in our examination of the question of Anglican Orders, it seems to me, we have arrived at *this* point: a new rite was made, from which every word and idea suggestive of sacrifice and oblation was carefully excluded. This exactly corresponds to the doctrinal standpoint of the compilers in regard to the Eucharist. The conclusion, then, is irresistible: that, in drawing up their Ordinal, Cranmer and the other Edwardine reformers composed a book for the appointment of ministers suitable to carry out the services designed in the book of Common Prayer. Further to illustrate the point made by Pope Paul IV. in the *Præclara Carissimi* as to the want of definition in the words of the actual form used by the compilers of the Ordinal (and, in fact, until the year 1662), we should note the following.

In every rite acknowledged by the Church, whether Eastern or Western, three things are invariably found in the form of consecration of sacred ministers. These are: (1) a clear and explicit mention of the Order to be conferred; (2) a prayer for the grace proper to the Order; (3) the simultaneous speaking of the form and imposing the hands. These are found in respect to all the Orders of deacon, priest and bishop. This is the case in the Roman Ordinal, the ancient Gallican, the Greek, the Syro-Maronite, the Nestorian, the Alexandrian Jacobite, the Armenian, the Syrian Jacobite, and in the Liturgy as it appears in the "Constitutions of the Apostles." In the Anglican rites, on the other hand, this definition is entirely absent in the case of all the Orders. It is true that in another prayer at the end of the litany there is mention "of the work and ministry of a bishop," but there is no moral connection between this prayer and the imposition of hands. On the contrary, there is a long interval

between them, and they are separated by the whole series of interrogations. Moreover, it is not certain that this prayer is always said by the consecrator.

A collation of the Ordinal with the Catholic Pontifical, just as a similar comparison of the First and Second Prayer Books with the Missal, reveals changes so startling that we are justified in supposing that, in the mind of the original innovators, the ministry they desired to establish and perpetuate was as wholly different from the priesthood conferred by the time-honored Pontifical as their brand-new communion service was from the Mass. This supposition is turned into positive certainty on an examination of the writings of those chiefly responsible for these liturgical changes in England. And all that an unprejudiced reader can say after such a study is that *if* the old priesthood was not destroyed as the result of their work, it certainly was not the fault of the compilers that it survived in spite of what they did.

Let us consider a few examples of their

teaching. To take Cranmer first. We need not illustrate his teaching about the Mass and the Sacrifice; it is too well known to all of us by his controversy with Gardiner. This, however, is a sample of what he taught about the priesthood: "Christ's priesthood can not pass from Him to another.... Wherefore the ministers of Christ's Church be not now appointed priests to make new sacrifice for sin,... but to preach abroad Christ's sacrifice and to be ministers of His words and Sacraments." Again: "Christ made no such difference *between the priest and the layman*, that the priest should make oblation and sacrifice of Christ for the layman.... Christ made no such difference, but the difference that is between the priest and the layman in this matter *is only in the ministration;* that the priest as a common minister of the Church doth minister and distribute the Lord's Supper unto others, and others receive it at his hands."

It is unnecessary to multiply examples of Cranmer's views as to the Sacrifice

and priesthood: they are well known to all. One other quotation, however, is useful as giving very briefly and distinctly his opinion. Being asked by Henry VIII. whether in the New Testament any consecration of bishop or priest was necessary, or whether mere institution to office was sufficient, Cranmer replied: "In the New Testament he who is appointed bishop or priest does not, according to Holy Scripture, need any consecration, but election or institution is sufficient."

Nicholas Ridley no less clearly condemned the Sacrifice of the Holy Mass, and termed the Catholic teaching "blasphemous." He declared that there was no priesthood but that of Christ, and no sacrifice but what He once offered. Further, that the Sacrament of the Eucharist had no grace except to such as received it rightly; that "The Lamb" was present only in a spiritual way. Ridley it was who was most active in pulling down the altars and setting up tables in their places, in order practically to eradicate

from the popular mind the idea of the Sacrifice of the Mass.

Another of the makers of the Anglican Ordinal was Hooper. He, too, categorically denied the sacrificial character of the Eucharist, speaking of the Mass as a "horrible idol." Bishop Goodrich, according to a letter written to Bullinger by Hooper, was in agreement with himself, Cranmer, Latimer, etc., as to his teaching on the Eucharist. He also took an active part in the destruction of the altars. Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, declared the Catholic teaching to be "the doctrine of Antichrist." So, too, Holbeach of Lincoln, who, in reply to Henry VIII., maintained the pure Calvinistic doctrine on the nature of the Sacrament.

The same views were likewise held by those divines who assisted in the revision of the Anglican Liturgy when it and the Ordinal were reintroduced by Queen Elizabeth. Richard Cox, afterward Bishop of Ely, said that "the only oblation of Christ in the Mass consisted in prayer, praise and thanksgiving";

and, in regard to the priesthood, that "in Holy Scripture there is no consecration of bishops and priests, but only an institution to the office of priest by imposition of hands." Pilkington thanked God that he had "destroyed the Sacrifice of the Mass." Matthew Parker, Elizabeth's first archbishop after the settlement of religion, 'ordered that the Eucharist must not be adored' and declared that "the Mass was not a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and dead." Sandys, Bishop of London, speaks of the "Papist priesthood" as having no warrant in Scripture, and adds: "Antichrist is the author of that priesthood."*

Of the Elizabethan clergy it is not too much to say that they would have rejected with scorn the notion that *they* had Orders in the same sense as the Catholic priests. Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, who wrote about 1563, though he used stronger language, does not take views different from the rest of his cloth. He speaks

* Sermons, p. 411.

of the Catholic clergy as "shorn, shaveling, shameless priests"; and of the Catholic bishops as "bite-sheep" or "horned beasts," (in reference to their mitres), or the "Pope's belly-gods"; and he characterizes Catholic ordinations as "filthy greasing," and sacred Orders as bestowed by the Catholic rite as "stinking orders." He had no thought about belonging to the old Catholic Church of England, and had nothing but sneers and ribald language for men like Wilfrid and Lanfranc, Anselm and St. Thomas, the glories of that Church. Here is what he says about his own Orders: "In Durham, I grant the bishop that now is [i. e., himself] and his predecessor [Bishop Tunstall] were not one religion in divers points, nor made bishop after one fashion. This [that is, himself] has neither cruche [crosier] nor mitre, never swore against his prince his allegiance to the Pope; this has neither power to christen bells nor hallow chalices and super-altars, as the other had; and with gladness [he] praises God

that kept him from such filthiness."

In a word no member of the Church established legally by Elizabeth would for one moment have thought of claiming to offer the Eucharistic Sacrifice or to be a priest in the Catholic sence. On the contrary, all would have argued that both the one and the other were unchristian. Their acts and words confirmed their sentiments. Their denial was threefold: (1) a denial of the real and objective presence of Christ in the Eucharist; (2) a denial of the real and propitiatory Sacrifice in the Mass; (3) a denial of the sacrificial character of the priesthood in the New Law. These three negations of what Catholics held and taught are obviously bound up together, and follow one from the other in a strictly logical way. In this the English Reformers agreed in principle with those of Germany and Switzerland.

The acts and words of the Elizabethan bishops and clergy no less than those who initiated the religious revolution under Edward VI., emphasized their

beliefs. Altar-stones were everywhere pulled down with contumely, and broken up, or exposed to insult and infamy. Archbishop Parker even expressed his horror and indignation at ministers using for their communions chalices which had been used for celebrating Mass. If they kept the names of bishop and priest, it really was because it was a point of law, since many existing legal forms required it; and, even for emoluments and benefices, it was necessary to conform to the law of the land. I honestly do not believe that there was anything more than this in the preservation of the names of priest and bishop, especially when ecclesiastics and laymen were loud in explaining that their ministers were no "Mass-priests."

In this Catholics were in full agreement with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. They never for a moment admitted their claim to Orders in the Catholic sense; and Catholic writers, in the second half of the sixteenth century and after, were unanimous in

declaring their belief that these bishops and priests were mere legal and parliamentary clergy, without the true character of Orders. They made no mistake about supposing that sacraments given during the time of heresy and schism were not true sacraments. They knew what they meant quite well, and drew a clear distinction between the clergy who had been ordained as Catholic priests, although they had subsequently lapsed into schism and heresy, and those who had received their ministry according to the Anglican Ordinal.

One example must suffice. About 1565, Thomas Heskin, a D. D, and a Dominican, wrote a book called "The Parliament of the Church," and this is what he says on this very point: "Understand that in this new-founded church there be two sorts of ministers that do minister the communion. One sort is of the priests which, lawfully consecrated in the Catholic Church have fallen to heresy; who, although they have authority by their Holy

Orders to consecrate the body and blood of Christ, yet now, having neither right intention nor faith of the Catholic Church, they consecrate not. The other sort is of ministers made after the new manner. These men, though they would unwisely have intention to consecrate, yet, lacking the lawful authority they neither do nor can consecrate, but (as it may justly be thought), having neither authority nor due faith and intent, they neither receive nor distribute to the people any other thing than bread and wine."

In like manner Nicholas Harpsfield, Harding, Stapleton, and a host of other writers, could be quoted to the same effect; and there can be no doubt that the stress of their arguments is laid upon the invalidity of the Ordinal by which the Anglican clergy were made ministers. Hence in all the controversy of those times, the Catholics were always taunting their Protestant adverseries with having "parliament bishops," deriving their authority and every other power from the Crown

and State, and getting nothing from the Church, the Apostles, or Christ.

Of course the mere opinion of Catholics as to the Orders of clergy of the Church by law established would amount to very little, even when the opinion of the Protestant divines practically agreed with them that they certainly did not possess, nor wish to possess, Orders in the same sense as that claimed by the Catholics. Still, when the views of those who drew up the new Ordinal, and of the first men who used it, are well known as a rejection of the Catholic doctrine of Orders, it is not a very great assumption to suppose that they would not have had any particular desire, or taken any particular care to keep the ancient essential form.

"For the full and accurate understanding of the Anglican Ordinal," says Leo XIII., "besides what we have noted as to some of its parts, there is nothing more pertinent than to consider carefully the circumstances under which it was composed and

publicly authorized. It would be tedious to enter into details; nor is it necessary to do so, as the history of that time is sufficiently eloquent as to the animus of the authors of the Ordinal against the Catholic Church, as to the abettors whom they associated with themselves from the heterodox sects, and as to the end they had in view. Being fully cognizant of the necessary connection between faith and worship, between the law of believing and the law of praying, under a pretext of returning to the primitive form, they, in many ways, corrupted the liturgical Order to suit the errors of the Reformers. For this reason, in the whole Ordinal not only is there no clear mention of the Sacrifice, of consecration, of the *sacerdotium*, and of the power of consecrating and offering sacrifice, but, as we have just stated, every trace of these things, which had existed in such prayers of the Catholic rite as they had not entirely rejected, was deliberately removed and struck out. In such things as these the native

character—or spirit, as it is called—of the Ordinal clearly manifests itself."

This appears to be the straightforward and common-sense view as to the Anglican Ordinal. As in the earlier times of Julius III. and Paul IV., so now in our days, Pope Leo XIII. mainly bases his decision against the reception of Anglican Orders as Catholic Orders upon the inherent invalidity of the form itself. Moreover, he strengthens this judgment by a reference to the history of the times when this form was drawn up, and to the opinions of those mainly concerned in the work. I have endeavored to illustrate this interesting and important point at somewhat greater length. It remains to note what the Pope in the *Apostolicæ Curæ* says as to the Catholic doctrine of intention.

"With this inherent *defect of the form* is joined," writes the Pope, "the *defect of intention*, which is equally essential to the Sacrament. The Church does not judge about the mind or intention in so far as it is something by its nature internal; but in so far as it is mani-

fested externally, she is bound to judge concerning it. When any one has rightly and seriously made use of the due form and the matter requisite for effecting or conferring the Sacrament, he is considered by the very fact to do what the Church does. On this principle rests the doctrine that a sacrament is truly conferred by the ministry of one who is a heretic or unbaptized, provided the Catholic rite be employed. On the other hand, if the rite be changed, with the manifest intention of introducing another rite not approved by the Church, and of rejecting what the Church does, and what by the institution of Christ belongs to the nature of the sacrament, then it is clear that not only is the necessary intention wanting to the sacrament, but that the intention is adverse to, and destructive of, the sacrament."

In other words, the case seems to me to stand thus. The early English Reformers rejected the Sacrifice of the Mass and all that the notion implied—altars, vestments, and priesthood.

They drew up a rite of ordaining ministers, in which, by exclusion, this notion was strongly emphasized, and which was wholly different from the ancient Catholic rite. Further, there can be no doubt whatever that those who were responsible for drawing up the rite, and those who first used it, would have rejected, with scorn and by the use of the strongest language, any idea of making bishops and priests in the Catholic sense. Why, therefore, will their successors in religion—the members of the English Established Church, or those bodies which sprang from it—take it amiss if Pope Leo XIII., as the result of his examination of the question, came to agree with their forefathers in all this, and declared that, in his opinion, they succeeded in their design? He is not, be it remembered, the first who has come to this decision; for the same judgment had already been passed upon the validity of Anglican Orders by the Greeks and Russians, and by the Jansenists and Old Catholics.

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